The I. W. W. Has Been Tried and Found Guilty

A Great Victory for the Government in the Recent Trial in Kansas City, Kan.

A VICTORY for Americanism and the severest setback that the I. W. W. has ever suffered were proclaimed when a Kansas jury convicted twenty-seven members of the organization at Kansas City, Kan., on December 18. The jury, having deliberated twenty hours, announced its verdict, finding the defendants guilty on all four counts charged: (1) Conspiracy to bring about a revolutionary overthrow of the United States government and to interfere with the various war emergency laws; (2) conspiracy to violate the draft act by urging men to refuse to register; (3) conspiracy, under the espionage act, to hinder recruiting by discouraging enlistments; (4) conspiracy, under the food and fuel act, to hinder the production of food and fuel.

Judge John C. Pollock sentenced the twenty-seven defendants to terms ranging from three and one-half to nine years in the Federal penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth. These are the names of the guilty:

Phineas Eastman, former member of the I. W. W. executive board; a secretary at Augusta, Kan., at time of government raid, September, 1918.

C. W. Anderson, Minneapolis, Minn., secretary-treasurer of the agricultural and oil workers' branch and director in Kansas and Oklahoma.

Albert Barr, secretary of the Tulsa, Okla., local in July, 1917.

A. M. Blumberg, organizer and field delegate.

E. M. Boyd, secretary at Tulsa in November, 1917.

Harry Drew, field organizer in Kansas and Oklahoma.

Samuel Forbes, secretary, at Augusta, Kan., in 1917.

Wencil Francik, O. E. Gordon and Michael Sapper, members of "the flying squadron," an organization committee in the harvest fields.

E. J. Gallagher, traveling organizer, formerly member of the organization committee, which had charge of the work in Kansas and Oklahoma.

Fred Grau, George Wenger, Ernest Henning, Carl Schnell and Paul Maihak, German enemy aliens and part owners of the I. W. W. Hall at Augusta, Kan.

J. Gresbach, active member.

Morris Hecht, organizer at Augusta.

Peter J. Higgins, member.

E. J. Huber, member.

Harry McCarl, delegate and organizer in oil fields.

Frank Patton, member.

Robert Poe, I. W. W. poet and writer.

Leo Stark, Mexican revolutionist, active in oil fields.

John Wallberg, member.

George H. Yarlott, member. He is a fugitive. Disappeared from courtroom in course of trial. Will be affected by verdict.

S. B. Hicock, short term secretary and organizer at Augusta.

The trial has been followed from the beginning by newspapers in Kansas, and in Kansas City, with the keenest interest, as it was clearly recognized that this case would decide the question whether or not the I. W. W. had a legal right to exist and either give a new impetus to radical activities throughout the country, or affirm, once for all, the superiority of American principles over radical doctrines.

The government's case was conducted by Fred Robertson, United States District Attorney, assisted by Samuel Amidon, who opened their case by presenting to Judge Pollock thirty-seven specimens of I. W. W. "literature" containing all kinds of propaganda against our laws, military policy and general welfare, to sustain the charge based on the preamble to the I. W. W. constitution. This reads:

Between the working and the capitalist class a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system.

From this the government charged that the I. W. W., under the supreme direction of W. D. Haywood, was conducting a gigantic plot to seize the reins of government, overturn the present order of things and substitute a new order, nobody knows what.

The literature shown at the trial had been sent from Haywood's office, at Chicago, to all centers of production, but especially to the farm workers in Kansas and workers in the Oklahoma oil fields, some by mail, the rest by freight. It was identified by many printers and publishers, some intimately connected with the organization.

The first witness was Alex Koehler, manager of the I. W. W. printing house at Chicago, who identified papers he had sent out. Next came James Koen, secretary of a local union at Cushing, Okla., who had corresponded with Haywood, pointing out how easy it would be to organize sabotage in the oil country. Clara Chappell, of Minneapolis, a worker in the agricultural branch of the organization, identified the defendants' membership cards and showed how bulletins were distributed in the wheat and oil fields. The agricultural organization's cards show a black kitten in a defiant attitude on a stack of wheat.

Checks From Haywood

Frank J. Quinn, secretary of the Western Newspaper Union at Chicago, testified to having circulated the I. W. W. newspaper, "Solidarity," from a mailing list furnished by the organization, and thousands of inflammatory pamphlets. Checks signed by Haywood in payment for this were introduced.

Fred Moore, attorney for the defendants, obviously was trying to keep the evidence strictly to the defendants and prevent introduction of matter which might brand the whole organization as an outlaw. He was unable, however, to prevent the admission of matter like this:

Education is ammunition. Organization is the weapon. Aim true and keep your powder dry.

The I. W. W. hits the boss in the latitude of his hip where he carries his greenware (pocketbook).

Fan the flames of discontent.

Sabotage: Make it too expensive for the boss to take the lives and liberty of the workers. Stop the endless court trials by using the wooden shoe (emblem of sabotage) on the job.

One Big Union, One Enemy—the Boss.

And this:

SONG

Down in the harvest land, united we stand;
With the A. W. O. (agricultural workers) we are out for the dough.
Out to make old farmer John come through.
Down in the harvest land,
The one big union grand;
If old farmer John doesn't freeze us, his machine will visit Jesus;
Down in the harvest land.

R. C. McCluggage, county attorney of Butler County, Kan., showed how it had been necessary to maintain large corps of armed guards in 1917 to protect the oil fields from hordes of agitators.

"It was necessary for the oil companies to maintain large private police forces to protect their properties," McCluggage testified. "Thousands of complaints of the activities of the I. W. W. were made to my office by the oil operators, police, sheriffs and private citizens."

Between 1,000 and 1,500 I. W. W. members were arrested and prosecuted in Butler County during the year 1917, McCluggage testified, due to their efforts to "sab" the oil fields and create general discontent by the distribution of incendiary literature, which formed the basis for practically all the trouble in the Eldorado and Augusta territories.

Sabotage, typified by the black cat, was extensively defined in extracts from Haywood's book, "Sabotage." "It does not take human life, but is a direct proposition that property has no rights." "A boycotted institution is at all times subject to sabotage." "'You are destroying civilization,' is hurled at us. We reply, 'We should worry; civilization is a lie.'" "Sabotage will put a stop to war." "The saboteur is a sharpshooter of the Revolution. He has the courage to invade the enemy's country." "Sabotage does not mean poisoning the soup, putting ground glass in the bread, or destroying human life, but is aimed solely at the heart . . . the pocketbook." "Every worker in the industry has sabotage at his command—let the master know he faces industrial mutiny. Sabotage is simply one of the weapons in labor's arsenal." I. W. W. cards were known as "Red Liberty Bonds."

Miss Hilda S. Seery, a stenographer in Haywood's office, identified a letter from him claiming that the war "Was of little consequence." She was afraid to admit her connection with the organization, showing that she feared that might be considered criminal in itself.

Miss Elizabeth Serviss, assistant secretary to Haywood, also refused at first to admit her connection, but, on being promised that nothing incriminating would be asked, gave testimony.

During all this, Moore was constantly objecting and advocating the right of free speech, but was always overruled by the judge. He is described by "The Kansas City Post" as "hovering like a hawk over each government witness, checking each reply and objecting to practically every question. And on the bench, leaning far back in his chair, his eyes closed, sits the judge, apparently asleep until some answer of the witness brings a sharp exchange of argument from the attorneys below. Then a quiet word from the bench and the case proceeds. The eyes remain closed, but the mind behind is far from asleep."

Moore undertook to give some testimony himself, reading long extracts from I. W. W. books. It is hard to see how he hoped to appeal to the jury, composed largely of farmers, by describing acts of sabotage on farms, such as planting trees upside down, but such was the main body of his testimony.

The next day, December 11, it appeared that one of the witnesses, who was also one of the defendants, had vanished. He had not been seen since Monday, when he had promised to appear, having been released on bond on the score of ill health. The main part of the day's evidence was furnished by J. C. Shearman, of Wichita, a handwriting expert, who showed that even typewriters display individual peculiarities—an important factor in identifying unsigned manuscripts.

Shearman's efforts played a large part in helping the government to prove its case.

On the next day an I. W. W. member, I. E. Altamose, who had disappeared eight months before, reappeared and announced his willingness to testify, saying that he had been living quietly in Kansas City. Frank G. Wermke, a former saboteur, or "sab cat," in I. W. W. language, showed how the organization tried to bring about a general strike in the Kansas wheat fields during the summer of 1917. He had joined the society in 1916, was made an organizer and formed flying squadrons of workers to spread their doctrines among the farm workers. He was arrested in the summer of 1917 and, while in jail, was converted from his radical beliefs. Another former "sab cat" had been a chemist at San Joaquin, Cal., where he had constructed "kitties" chemicals in a corked bottle, which ate away the cork and burst into flame. Such a laboratory was known as an "ark."

Planned Sabotage

A letter identified by Shearman as having been written by Phineas Eastman, secretary of the Augusta, Kan., I. W. W. branch, gave threats of a proposed blow-up of the oil fields. It read:

"At your first move, up go your homes and pipe lines and tanks. One box of matches can whip the whole country."

The sheriff of Salina County described another threat to blow up New York City. In favor of the I. W. W. it was shown by the statistical bureau of the United States Fuel Administration that the production of oil had not diminished during the summer of 1917.

The work of the agricultural "flying squadrons" was described in detail, how they drove railroad spikes in the wheat fields, so as to ruin the farmer's machinery. Searching for such spikes would mean trampling down the grain. The squadrons operated largely at night, terrorizing prospective farm hands on the trains. L. E. Fanning, a brakeman, told of such an attempt in detail.

The speed with which the gang worked and the thoroughness with which its work was done were described. Fanning went from an oil car to a coal car on the moving freight. As he walked among twelve or fifteen men in the car he was struck on the head with a club and shot in the shoulder. Nothing was said, he testified, until he was being thrown over the side of the car. Then he was told:

"You will respect a red card after this. You and all of your friends."

Large camps where the nomadic farm workers congregated were infested by "wobblies" (members of the I. W. W.) who had persuaded 16,000 to join during the summer of 1916, although 14,000 had been expelled for failure to pay dues before the fall.

As the government gathered evidence it became clearer and clearer that discontent was the foundation on which the I. W. W. was built, and through which it expected to abolish the wage system and seize the machinery of production. An agitator would ask a farm hand

"What are you receiving a day from the farmer?"

"I get $3.50," was the answer.

"You should have $4," the agitator advised.

Meanwhile four of the defendants had disappeared. They had complained that they were dying in jail, and Robertson, the district attorney, had released them on personal bonds or their word of honor. The I. W. W. professed to know nothing about them, and they have not been heard of since. Four others had been named in the indictment, but had vanished before the government could locate them.

Were Well Fed

The I. W. W. attorney was very particular during the whole trial about the quality of care accorded to the defendants, making repeated complaints against both the jail and jailers. The prisoners received special food, steak and dessert, a diet ordered by Judge Pollock on an appeal by the I. W. W. attorney, Moore. The other prisoners gathered around and envied the "banquets" served to the I. W. W. members, who, however, shared some of their food with them.

On Tuesday, the 16th, the government rested its case. Amidon was convinced that the defendants would be found guilty, showing that evidence had been found that the I. W. W. had relations with the Russian Soviet government.

During the trial, Amidon had been accused by Socialist papers, such as "The New York Call," of being in the power of the oil interests, since Amidon's office is in Wichita, the seat of many oil companies.

Nobody had been certain about the course of defense to be taken by the I. W. W. counsel, but everybody was surprised when Moore rested his case without offering any testimony on his own side, although it had been expected that thirty or more witnesses would be called. Before resting his case Moore asked for the discharge of twelve of the defendants on the plea that the evidence had not shown their connection with the conspiracy. This was overruled. Each side presented its arguments, and the case went to the jury on Wednesday, the 17th.

During the trial the jury probably knew less about what was going on in the outside world than anybody else in the United States. The end of the coal strike was kept secret from them, and everything regarding labor disputes, radicalism, profiteering, or any related subject was shut out of the jury room. Frank J. Campbell, the Federal District clerk, was the censor, and went over the day's papers with a pair of scissors, leaving only eight short stories on the front page of "The Kansas City Star" on the 11th. In spite of the length of the deliberations, the verdict was reached on the first ballot, as the amount of evidence to be considered caused the delay.

Cleaning House
—*The World*, New York

Change your tune or get out!
—*Baltimore American*

Not Only the Individuals, but the Organization Placed Under the Ban by the Verdict

A Job the Big Need of British Army Officers

"DEMOBBED officer, university man, looks for a start. Will do anything and go anywhere."

The "personal ad" columns of papers like "The London Times" are crowded with announcements of the above type. The problem of the demobilized officer is one of the most acute aspects of the crisis of the British middle class and of after-war social readjustment in general. This officer is very frequently a gentleman of the "public school" type, with a smattering of everything and thorough training in nothing; he is a well mannered and affable jack-at-all-trades, but the cry of the age is for specialists. There is, moreover, the psychological factor; the spirit of adventure—always inherent in the young Britisher—which was awakened by the war from its twilight sleep of the later pacific decades.

The case of the young Oxford man who the other day advertised for a position outdoors in Africa or Australia, because "he could not think of resuming pre-war studies," is typical even if his frankness is a little above average.

Under such circumstances the movement now being launched by the British East Africa Disabled Officers' Colony seems to fill a genuine need. The substance of the story is told by the name of the organization; details are divulged by an article published in "The London Daily News":

About seventy-five officers, we are told, are shortly going out to East Africa to form a little community of their own. They have secured 25,000 acres of land, fifty miles southeast of Kisumi, at a nominal price, and they intend to make a success of growing flax. Markets for the produce of the farms have already been arranged, and it is expected that in two years or so the little colony will be self-supporting.

Twenty-five of the members are married, and their wives will go out with them. It is intended that the colony shall be entirely self-contained. There will be a resident doctor and also a nurse. The nearest town of any size—Nairobi—is 200 miles away, and the nearest railway station—Kericho—twenty-five miles. There will, therefore, be some lack of society, but it is not anticipated that there will be any serious danger of boredom. A clubhouse will be built, and golf links and lawn tennis courts made. Lion and rhinoceros shooting is expected to provide any variety that may be needed.

The scheme has been organized by Lieutenant Colonel R. Hughes Ridge, of the British East Africa Disabled Officers' Colony, Ltd., 10, Old Jewry-chambers, E. C.

A certain amount of sympathetic encouragement has been given by the Ministry of Pensions—all members being in receipt of a disablement pension for wounds or disease—and it is hoped that the Ministry of Shipping will help to solve the problem of cargo space for the machinery and other material which must be shipped from England. All members before going overseas are to go through a course of training in farming in this country.

Obviously, the plan does not solve the entire problem, for, although Stanley Kaufman, one of the committee, says that "there is heaps of room for every one," a mass migration of former holders of commissions in His Britannic Majesty's armed forces is hardly likely to take place. But as far as it goes the scheme seems very commendable. Mr. Kaufman paints in glowing colors the advantages and amenities that await the prospective colonist. The climate in East Africa, he says, is ideal; it is perpetual spring out there. Then listen to this:

"Petrol is only 9d. a gallon. Native labor abounds. Horses can be bought for £5."

Gasoline at 15 cents and $20 for a horse!

The profits, it is explained, will be pooled and equally divided. It will be communism, but administered by a "gentlemen's soviet" and protected by the Union Jack.

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COLLEGE yells are among the things American that inspire our unsophisticated (or shall we say sophisticated?) British cousins with the greatest awe and admiration. A correspondent of "The Manchester Guardian" recently wondered at the feelings of the Prince of Wales listening to the cheers of welcome at West Point. The correspondent quoted, in this connection, the yells of Johns Hopkins University and of Colorado College as particularly felicitous and colorful products of what he described as a "fine poetic frenzy." His reflections moved another reader of the paper to submit the following contribution to the natural history of college calls:

Some eight years ago a Manchester friend returned from an Eisteddfod (a Welsh musical festival) with a most invigorating musical shout which he had picked up. He knew no Welsh, but he invented some gibberish that served for the opening lines. The climax was in the finish: "Lloyd George i-gorra! i-gorra! i-gorra! i-GOR-ra!" I was rash enough to bang it out on the Union piano when I revisited Glasgow University a little later. The sequel came in the middle of the war. A Glasgow student, wounded and consigned to Manchester, was relating to me how his drooping spirits had been uplifted one peculiarly filthy day on a road in Flanders by hearing a detachment of a famous Scottish regiment shouting "the old Glasgow University call, the one that ends in '-GOR-ra!'" and how he found that it was officered by a fellow student. I begged to hear the "old call" in extenso. He gave it with gusto, mock Welsh and all, only that "Glasgow" had ousted Lloyd George in the final "i-gorra!" So may an alien plant, queerly pruned, blossom and become apparently indigenous in new soil.

It is a pity the correspondent refrained from communicating in full the "mock Welsh" portion of the call. Readers who are amateur practitioners of the science called psychoanalysis might have found its unraveling a fascinating pastime.

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IN HIS late and—by some of his friends—lamented volume of plays George Bernard Shaw includes a farce entitled "Catherine the Great," the climax of which is a scene wherein Prince Potemkin, the redoubtable favorite of the Empress, carries into a court levée a violently squirming English captain of dragoons under his arm and drops him on Her Majesty's bed as if he were a bundle.

It would be interesting to know whether Mr. Shaw has read the diary of a British lady, Mrs. Charles Calvert, in which the following entry appears under the date of December 12, 1809:

"I had a letter yesterday from Edmund Knox, who is in Spain, and who tells me a ludicrous anecdote relating to Lord Wellesley. The mob took the horses from his carriage and drew him along. A woman among them, quite six feet high, was not content with that, but took his little lordship in her arms out of the carriage and carried him, kissing and hugging him all the time, to where the Junta was assembled, and put him down among them, saying she had brought the savior of her country."

It should be explained that the Lord Wellesley referred to is better known under his later title of Duke of Wellington. The correspondent of "The Manchester Guardian," who recalls the incident, notes the insistence on ceremony characterizing the Spanish Cortes—a circumstance which hardly added to the comfort of the gallant general in his rather unconventional situation.

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ONE effect of the war is the deflection of a stream of students of all nationalities from the universities of Germany, formerly probably the most international—as far as attendance goes—among all seats of learning in the world. Berlin, Munich, Halle, Jena, Heidelberg, Freiburg were the pre-war Meccas of the students of humanities, while the engineer worshiped at the shrine of Charlottenburg or Aachen. That was before 1914; in A. D. 1920 Paris seems to be the international watchword. A French newspaper woman, Andrée Viollis, writes in "The London Daily Mail":

"If, after wandering through the stately passages of the Palais de la Sorbonne (the Paris University), you open a door you find yourself suddenly before an unexpected and charming spectacle.

"In a vast hall whose bay windows take captive all the parsimonious light of the dull, rainy day, youths and girls are seated in front of tables, reading, writing, or in groups chatting gayly in suppressed tones. This is nothing unusual, is it?

"All the races of Europe are represented here, without counting Asia, with the amiable and dainty Japanese, and even Africa, whose dazzling smile breaks forth on one dusky face. And all these young people from every corner of the world are trying to speak French; with different accents, certainly—hoarse, nasal, or chirping—but pronounced piously, carefully, with the most touching good will.

"Is the learned Sorbonne transformed into a Tower of Babel?

"On the contrary; it is a union of races striving for the conquest of a language and an ideal of civilization. For we are in the hall that the Sorbonne reserved for the foreign students entered for the new courses created this year by the Paris University. They can rest here, work between the lectures, and find, as well as a fire—a rare and precious boon just now—books, advice and an atmosphere of affectionate solicitude."

Shade of Columbus—I thought I discovered America
—*London Express.*

Tickling the House of Commons
—*The People*, London